have the best possible opportunity, when the po-sitions upon all sides are clearly and distinctly understood, to compare those respective positions, and, if possible, arrive at an amicable solution of culties that exist; but, sir. I may be permitted to say, that in my judgment the path to an amicable solution of the difficulty does not lie through criminations and recriminations; it does not lie through denunciations upon one side and in the act than I expected. upon the other side; and I may be permitted to suggest to my friend, the Senator from Arkansas, whether anything is to be gained in a comparison between the application of the terms " crime " and criminals " on the one side, and the application of the epithets "robber" and "assassin," the other ? Sir, we gain nothing in this way. Let us define our positions with candor, with fairness, with clearness, and with precision; and then, un-derstanding each other, we shall be able to determine what course becomes us as Sepators, and what course it becomes the States, as sovereign-

man Di

Mr. President, I may be permitted to say, and I think it due to the State which I in part represent here, to say, that no menace of disunion, no resolves tending towards disunion, no intimations of the probability of disunion, in any form, will move us from the path which in our judgment it is due to ourselves and the people whom we represent, to pursue. Everything of that sort has ost its terror; at least I trust it has. I trust that which in his judgment and his conscience it is due to the State and the people whom he represents to pursues I trust that no man, hereafter, is to, be moved from that deliberate course by any threat, or by any resolve from whateve I trust we shall pursue a path of rectitude, with entire respect for all the people of all the States, and for every State of the whole Union. But having determined upon what that path shall be, I trust we shall not be deterred from pursning it by any intimidation of any kind, or of this char-

cter, particularly.
Mr. President, we have had it intimated in this debate that the States of the South have had some reason to complain of the course which has been pursued. Now, sir, what is there in our past hisory, or in our present history, which justifies that complaint? Let it be calmly considered, deliberately considered, and then let me again press the inquiry, what is there in our past or present history to justify that complaint? Have any States of the South, Mr. President, lacked their full proportion of all the honors of this Confed-Have they not had their full proportion, ut least, of all the power of this Confederacy Do they not at this moment, in this hall, exercise all the power, to say the least of it, which to them legitimately belongs? Why, sir, who pre-sides in the other hall? How have your committees been constituted there? Under what influence have they been constituted, and with what purpose have the committees been constituted here? Have they not been so constituted, Mr. President, as to meet the claims, and the extremest claims, of the gentlemen who represent the Southern States of this Union? Has it not been held here to been disqualification, as chairman of a committee, that the distinguished Senator, even of a slave State, should maintain what in his judgment was due to the people of the whole Confederacy in reference to this subject? And has it not been held, also, to be a disqualification to other Senators, that they maintain sentimen's which are common to the people of their entire States in reference to this question of slavery Why, Mr. President, for my own part, I may be permitted to say that in political sentiment faccord fully with that party which is known as the Free Democracy of the United States—a party which remain forever sectional, and which had, during he last canvass, if I may be permitted to allude to it, not merely friends in the non-slaveholding States in this Union, but friends in many of the slaveholding States also—not organizations, but friends; and in some of the States, organizations

I will add, further, sir, as it is known to be my position, that I stand ready and willing to cooperate with that party which is known as the Democracy of this country, whenever that party takes such ground on the subject of slavery as accords with the principles of the Ordinance of Well, sir, now let us compare the positions

held with reference to this very question, which is exciting debate and attention here now. Do I understand the Senators of the South as saying that they are prepared to act with the Democracy of this country, if the Democa take ground in favor of Freedom? Do they not nake it the test of their adherence to the party. that the party shall respect what in their judg ment are their legitimate claims? Mr. angues tionably that test is made. Then, ar, is it not legitimate that a Senator, holding just as strongly opinions in favor of freedom as they hold in favor of slavery, that he should require that the party which is to command his cooperation and judgment he can reconcile to his own conscience?
If it be so, Mr. President, in what position do
we stand here? That tests may be made upon we stand here? That tests may be made upon one side, without exclusion from the party's confidence and the party's respect, but tests shall not be made on the other side, but if made in favor of freedom, they shall be ground for such ex-

Well, Mr. President, I refer to this matter sim ply as showing that there is nothing to complain of, so far as this House, so far as the other House, so far as present arrangements are concerned What can be complained of in the future? What is expected? Why, sir, it is apprehended that the Congress of the United States may adopt the principles of the Ordinance of 1787, and concurred in by the unanimous assent of all the States represented in the Congress of the Confederation, in their application, not to territory which was slave territory, as the territory north west of the river Ohio claimed to be, but territo ry which is now free. That is one of the grounds of apprehension. Another ground of apprehension is, that the Congress of the United States may determine in their judgment that it is proper to apply the principles of freedom, proper to apply the principles of law, to the question of slavery in the District of Columbia. It is apprehended that the influence and power of this ernment may be placed upon the side of free Well, sir, what if it should be? Was that not the precise of ject which was marked out by the framers of the Constitution? Was it not the precise object which was marked out by those who concurred in establishing the Ordinance of 1787? But we are told that if that crisis arises, it must be met by the South. The Senator from South Carolina tells us, he trusts, in the event that Congress should adopt any measure of this sort, that the South will meet the crisis as it Well, sir, I must say that I concur that hope. And how, Mr. President, ought such a crisis to be met? Ought it to be met in a spirit of Disunion, or ought it to be met in the spirit which governed the deliberations of those who framed the Constitution? Ought it to be met in the spirit of those who framed the Ordinance of 1787?-that spirit which was then universal in this country-the spirit which animated the breast of every gentleman who had a seat in the

Congress of the Confederation at that time. Mr. President, I trust, for one-and it is all that I have to say on this subject-that whenever this crisis arises, it will be met in the spirit of the Fathers of the Republic. And if it be so met, rely upon it, Mr. President, there will be no cause for apprehension; but, on the contrary, the Union will be cemented, and the example of this Union will be made what the Fathers of the Republic designed it should be made, an example of Free-

dom to the nations of the earth. He was followed by Mr. Clemens of Alabama, who, in a long, and apparently prepared speech, in which he denounced the North, set forth at length the grievances of the South, and indicated dissolution of the Union as the remedy. Indeed,

he said, the Union was already dissolved.

Mr. Hale replied briefly to some of the remarks of the Senator from Alabama. He said-

If he has done nothing else, he has at least, by his remarks, convinced me of one fact, and that is that "concession never satisfies fanaticism." I wish every Senator from every free State would take up that remark as a text, and tell the timid, the doubting, and the wavering, at the North that concession never satisfies fanaticism. I thank the Senator for that. I hope the North will find it They have felt it ever since the adoption of the Constitution, but they do not seem to have practically learned it, although they are beginning

There was another remark made by the Senator which struck me as somewhat peculiar; and I must say it gratified me. There are many timid people at the North who have looked forward ith excited nerves and trembling fears at the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds," which they have believed would be the result of the dissolution of this Union. I think they will be ex-ceedingly quiet now, when they find out that it has already taken place, and they did not know it, the Union. We have proved our love for [laughter,] for the honorable Senstor from Ala-

Union, and our adhesion to it, too often and too long to require such declarations at our hands. Let those whose fidelity may be doubted make bama tells us it is already dissolved. If it is not a matter too serious for a pleasant illustration, let me give you one. Once in my life, in the capacity of a justice of the peace—for I held that office before I was a Senator, [laughter,] the declaration, and if Vermont chooses to force her inpulting resolutions upon the Senate, through I was called on to officiate in uniting a couple in the bonds of matrimony. They came up, and I made short work of it. I asked the man if he that I regret that Vermont has not now such conwould take the woman whom he held by the hand stitutional scruples as actuated her in the war of thereafter.

Jose this Confederacy. Let it be understood to be his wedded wife; he replied, "to be sure I at the positions upon all sides are; let us un-erstand each other distinctly, and then we shall put the question to the lady, whether she would I regret that I shall have to part with many of have the man for her husband. And when she answered in the sfiirmative, I told them they were mnn and wife then. She looked up with apparent astonishment, and inquired, "Is that all?" "Yes," said I, "that is all!" "Well," said she, "it is not such a mighty affair as I expected it to be, after all." [Laughter] If this Union is already dissolved, it has produced less commotion

> The honorable Senator spoke of the mechanical population, the operatives in the factories of the No thern States, as slaves, and it is not a new remark here. I have heard it in private conversa-tions, and I have been very kindly told by indi. viduals who professed to have, and had, no doubt a real and earnest desire to give me instruction on the subject, that our factory population would not bear a comparison, not only in the amount of physical and animal comfort they enjoyed, but in endorse them by my vote. intelligence and good breeding, with their South-ern slaves. I have had that information given me by gentlemen, members of this body, in private conversation; and remarks of that character are so frequently made, that it certainly becomes me, living in one of the villages composed of this population, thus denounced and vilified, to say a single word, not in vindication, but in illustration of the character and position of that much misunderstood and misrepresented class of our popula-

The village in which I live has about a thousand female operatives employed in manufacturing es-tablishments. In that village there is, as in many other of those villages, banks for savings, and the amounts denosited there exceed \$300,000; and I think I will be justified in saying that more than one-balf of the whole sum is denosited by these very 'slaves," as they are called. And who are they? They are, in a great measure, composed of the daughters of persons living remote from the places where the factories are located; and when poverty or disease or death or misfortune in any shape, visit the homesteads of these families when palsy seizes upon the frame of the aged paren's, or calamity in any form comes as a visitation from Providence, these young women, leaving their homes where they were born and nurtured, come down to these villages, and, by industry economy, and prudence, generally succeed making quiet, and happy, and comfortable, the declining years of those parents they have left behind. I will do them the credit here to say that I do not believe, search the country through from the Aroostook to our southern boundary, that you can find in any class of society, I do not care who they are, or how worthy, elevated, and cultivated they may be, an equal number of females of purer moral deportment, higher intellectual cultivation, or who better understand all the du-ties belonging to private and social life, and the domestic relations, than these same much-abused factory girls. The character of the male popula-tion is equally worthy. They, are industrious, prudent, thriving, intelligent, educated, and mor-al. They are the pride and glory of New England. would like to have any man, I do not care who he is, chivalric, boid, and intellectual as he may be go into one of these factory villages, and tell that population they are slaves. I am willing to compare this population with the population of the South, leaving the slaves out of the comparison altogether, and taking the masters; and then see on which side of the scale the intellect, the intelligence, and all the virtues which adorn the human character, will be found. Sir, if it would not be found on the side of these factory operatives, you would have to produce a higher standard than

Mr. Hale proceeded to deny, in very emphatic terms, another statement of the Senator from Alabams, viz: that there were clubs and societies at the North for scuttering incendiary publications

has fullen under my observation anywhere, North

among the slaves, inciting them to insurrection. Mr. Butler of South Carolina replied particularly to the remarks of the Senator from Ohio, [Mr. Chase.] reading, in the course of his speech, a letter from that gentleman to J. G. Breslin of Ohio, (which was published in the Era a few weeks ago)

After commenting on this letter, and attempting to show that if its principles were carried out, disunion would be the result, he referred to the remarks of the Senator from New Hampshire, cations in the South

But the gentleman has denied that the free States are by clubs and associations making forts to affect the condition of the slave and his master How do so many printed pamphlets find ncendiary publications found their way South Carolina / Dungles of them have nungles of them have been found in our post offices. One individual has been indicted, but I forhear alluding to his case, as I would not control the administration of justice.

But, sir, in the case alluded to, there is reason to suppose that a combination has been formed to produce a revolution in South Carolina on the slave question. The pamphlets are now to be are incendiary publications in every sense of the word and written from the worst of motives There is a gentleman (Mr. Babbit) who has gone to South Carolina, and there was found in possession large quantities of pamphlets and other documents, which were calculated to produce a revolution in the South. He stated that he did not design their dissemination, but there they are in the post office, like a torch near a powder magazine, at this day.

Mr. Hale. Were they addressed to whites or blacks? Mr. Butler. They were addressed, I suppose to

ome of your whites-whites like yourself. That est answer I can make. Mr. Hale. Then there are some persons of my way of thinking at the South.

Mr. Butler, Yes, there are some who travel from your part of the country, and who, having been fostered by our hospitality, have basely taken advantage of us, and committed treason against our institutions. It is certain that these papers are sent there with a view to be used. I do not know whether Babbit is guilty or not. I shall

that any persons are associated for the purpose of sending these documents. Indeed, I am happy to be found, and I am sorry to believe that some of these documents have been actually written by regard the Whig party as committed to the main hear that he does not; but such documents are to some of those persons who have removed from the South to Ohio. That they do write such documents und, c the sanction of an association, I have no hesitation in saying. The purpose and pur-port of the whole thing is, these men travel about under the ostensible calling of selling drugs, that these mischievous documents shall be disseminated; and I am sure the gentleman must regard them as mischievous, if he believes what he says for he says that he is opposed to interference, and yet, sir, there is interference continually.

Mr. Davis of Mississippi followed in a brief

speech, characterized by strong feeling: We, sir, are parties to this Union under the Constitution, and there is no power, no, not if the world were in arms, that could dictate to my little State. The present generation, sir, will but maintain the character which their fathers won. The present generation will but sustain the Constituion they have inherited, if it be necessary, through civil war-if they be privileged to march up this issue, and meet it face to face. That is our position. I came to this session of Congress with melancholy forebodings—with an apprehension that it might be the last of our Government. I still trusted, however, in the intelligence and patriotism of the masses, though I have long since said that I put no faith in politicians. I fear that have raised a storm which they cannot control-that they have raised a spirit which they cannot reduce to submission-and yet I believe the descendants of Franklin and Hancock, and the Adamses, if they saw our institutions about to be destroyed by a mean and captious attempt on the part of demagogues to press the people of the North into further aggression upon the South, I believe they would rise in their strength, and would answer the feeling and invocation of the South to sustain the obligations of the Constitution. This, I do not say as being applicable to the people of the North generally, but to some of their representatives, and as I meet them face to face, to them I choose to say it, and if the repre sentatives of that people, Mr. President, think proper here to sow the seeds of disunion, continuing to inflame us to the point of civil war, then all I have to say is, that the people of the South through their own representatives are prepared to meet the issue here, and now. If this is to be the centre where civil war is contemplated, here let the first battle be fought. If gentlemen come here constantly to press their aggressions upon us, and strip us of our rights, if they bring up the people of one section of the Union to make war upon the people of another, I hope those who It is no part of the business of the Southern

I regret that I shall have to part with many of my friends, with whom I have uniformly acted in the Senste, upon the motion to print these reselutions. I would agree to print them, sir, however offensive they might be, if the State had sent

them to the Senate; for the State has a right to speak to the Senate. I would receive them if they were addressed to the Senate by the State, but accept the argument of the Senator from Georgia. which gentlemen have termed special leading. hold that, not being addressed to the Senate, it rested with the Senators from Vermont to present them or not; they have chosen to do so. They were merely instructions for the regulation of their own conduct, and might have reposed in their own pockets as well as upon the table of the Sen-ate. I hold them to be unjust, I hold them to be

Mr. Phelps arose and stated that he had come to the conclusion to vindicate the resolutions of the State of Vermont and his own course. He had preferred to let the subject rest with the remarks he had made, but after what had taken place, he must speak.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. The House voted three times to-day for Clerk

without success On the 15th trial, the vote stood-Forney 102,

Foote 103, St. Clair Clarke 3, French 3, Phil-The three that voted for French were, Bingham, Booth, and Harlan; for St. Clair Clarke, Beberry Kai China and Hilliard of Alabama; for Philleo, King, Wilmot,

Julian, and Durkee. Mr. Schenck then withdrew the name of Mr. Foote, and the next vote (16th) stood-for Forney 96, Prindle 63, Campbell 32, French 11, Fisher Philleo 4, Foote 2, John Smith 1.

On the 17th trial, the vote was-Forney 93, Prindle 63, Campbell 28, French 18, Fisher 9, Philleo 3, Foote 2, Gouverneur 1. For Mr. B. B. French .- Messrs, Bingham, William J. Brown, Cabell, Campbell, Carter, Gorman, Harlan, Julian, Leffler, McDonald, McGaughey,

Morris, Root, Whittlesey, Wilson, Wood, Tuck, and Crowell For Mr. C. W. Philleo .- Messrs. Durkee, P. King, and Wilmot.

The House adjourned.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 17, 1850.

THE GREAT STONE FACE, by Nathsniel Haw thorne, will appear in our next. A LETTER FROM GRACE GREENWOOD is received,

and will be published next week. THE INDEX .- The Index to Vol. III will be sent to our subscribers next week. We did not hold it back as an inducement to subscribers to renew,

LOWELL'S POEMS.

last number of the volume.

Lowell's Poems, noticed by our associate on the first page, are for sale by Taylor & Maury, Pennsylvania avenue, above 9th street.

GENERAL TAYLOR AT LAST SURRENDERS.

President Taylor at last surrenders. In the Republic of last Thursday, his policy for the settlement of the Territorial Question is authoritatively disclosed. In commenting on his message, we said that the ground he occupied on the subject, so far as we could infer anything from that document, was identical with the ground taken by General Cass in his Nicholson Letter. This view is completely confirmed by the Republic, in concerning the distribution of incendiary publi- the following paragraph, taken from an editorial period during the struggle. The Free Soil men in its columns :

"President Taylor, after mature deliberation, has indicated a mode in which this question can be satisfactorily adjusted, without wounding the feerings or disturbing the rights of either section and necessities of our institutions, the whole actual and The sent ments of President Taylor on this subject have been responded to with the fullest approbation by first journal which has excepted eo this portion of the press of the South. Here, then, is a national plan form on which the Whigs of all quarters can stand together. Waive the Territorial organization, and admit the new countries when they are prepared for pacity, the whole subject is in their exclusive cornizance and control; and Congress has nothing more to d with them than with other States in their domestic and

municipal offairs.
"This course could well enough be taken, but for the gentlemen who have a personal and partifirmness by the friends of the Administration and the Union, their factious purposes can be easily defeated, good feeling and harmonious counsels can be restored, and the Legislature can devote its attention to the other great questions of policy which have been recommended to their attention

By the unanimous consent, then, of the Whig press, North and South, the entire Whig Party, in the twinkling of an eye, is translated from the low and sectional ground of the Wilmot Proviso. to the high and national platform of the Case dectrine of Non-Intervention-the dectrine of The gentleman has declared that he is not aware the Nicholson Letter. This is the position of the Republic, the organ of General Taylor. If the assumptions of the Republic pass unquestioned by tenance of the policy of General Cass.

REV. DR. DICK.

The name of Dr. Dick is familiar to the Chris tian world. His writings are numerous, popular, widely circulated, and have doubtless been fruitful man, at eighty years of age, in a country like pensioning genius, should at this moment be in absolute penury, we could not believe had we not the positive statement of Mr. Burritt of the Christion Citizen, that such is the fact. He is now un- understood what they were about the night from his works; recent calamities have so redu- On the twentieth trial, all the Whigs, with the ced his resources that he is almost entirely destitute; a widowed sister and three grandchildren port of Campbell; all the Northern Democrats yet depend upon him for support. Two other grandchildren whom he sustained, have been ad- Booth, who continued to vote for French, came mitted into a charity hospital at Edinburgh. Such | up to the support of Forney; and eight Southern is Mr. Burritt's statement, confirmed by accounts | Democrats of the Calhoun stripe bolted their in the English papers. And this is in England, own caucus nomination, c st aside the man who cent patron of genius and learning; in Christian tant Christendom! Why, the slave-owner of the slaveholder, voted for T. J. Campbell of Tennes-South, whom England thinks the impersona- see, nominated by the Whigs in caucus the night tion of the Devil, could hardly treat a slave worse | before; thus showing that with them Slavery is than this. What a comment on the charity of first, Party subordinate. ornament! A man who has labored for more than half a century to persuade men to love Christianity, cast out upon the world to starve, by its professors, a few of whom, if they would but share with him half of the charities they bestow that they may be seen of men, might provide him and his poor dependents a home full of comfort.

There is something essentially wrong in the Christian Church of this day, or such an instance of destitution could not happen. In fact, were they organized with a view to practice social benevolence, as well as spiritual improvement and the propagation of religious sentiment, society will present a different aspect.

Elihu Burritt, of the Christian Citizen, will receive contributions for him, or such as feel disposed can make remittances direct through Harnden & Co., New York, or Mark H. Newman & Co, 190 Broadway, New York.

Ex-Governor PRATT, of Maryland, has been her Senators, let the Senators of that State make such declarations; and, as I say nothing against a sovereign State, I will only say to those Senators remainder of Mr. Johnson's term, which will expire on the 4th of March, 1851, and for six years

AND SOUTHERN DENOCRATS.

Last Frida T. J. Campbell was re-elected Clerk of the House of Representatives, on the twentieth trial, after one week and a day devoted the business, by a vote of 112 out of 220; eight of the majority that elected him being cast by Southern Democrats. Mr. Campbell is therefore Clerk of the House, in virtue of a coalition between the Whig party and the following Southern Democrats, who belong to the extreme pro-

slavery, disunion school of the South : Colcock, Orr, Wallace, and Woodward, South Carolina; Ewing, of Tennessee; Hubbard, of Alabama; Venable, of North Carolina; and McQueen, of Mississippi.

The Whigs at one time dropped Campbell, and ried to elect Mr. Foote of Vermont, formerly a member of the House. They carried him up to 103, but meantime the Union came out with a short paragraph, showing, by a quotation from a speech from his, and by a reference to one of his votes, that he was opposed to the extension of slavery. The result was, that three or four Southern Whigs refused to sustain him. Could their votes have been had, the few Free Soil men who held off would have secured his election Considering them impracticable, Mr. Schenck at last withdrew his name, and Mr. Campbell, a Southern man and a slaveholder, was immediately re-nominated.

Thursday night the Whigs held a caucus and resolved, we learn, unanimously to adhere to this omination. Whether they had received assurances of Southern support from the other side, the reader will be able to judge for himself by what transpired next day.

So much for the proceedings of the Whigs. The Democrats in caucus assembled nominated. as we have seen, Cobb of Georgia for Speaker,

Forney of Pennsylvania for Clerk, Lane of Kentucky for Sergeant-at-Arms, Brown of Ohio for Doorkeeper.* For many a weary day had the party labored to elect its candidate for Speaker, the Northern Democrats adhering to him devotedly. He withdrew for a time, that the strength of other candidates might be tested, but not a single Southern vote could be obtained for any Northern candidate suspected of being in favor of the Wilmot Proviso.

At last, a portion of the Southern Democrats, uniting with the Whigs, carried the plurality rule, under which Mr. Cobb, a slaveholder and a Slavery Extensionist, was chosen Speaker by the combined votes of Northern and Southern Democrats, with the exception of Messrs. Cleveland, Booth, Doty, Wood, and Peck.

Last Thursday week, the House proceeded to vote for Clerk, and J. W. Forney of Pennsylvania, the pet candidate of the slaveholders, a man notorious for his undeviating support of slaveholding pretensions, and for his abuse of those of but simply because we had not room for it in the his own party at the North, disposed to resist such pretensions, received the entire Democratic vote, with the exception of that of Mr. Bingham of Michigan, who voted for B. B. French, the Democratic Clerk of a former House. Not even the Democrats who were supposed to be under some obligation to the Free Soil men-we mean Cleveland, Booth, Waldo, of Connecticut, Peck of Vermont, Cable of Ohio, or Harlan and Fitch of Indiana-evinced the slightest repugnance to the support of a man who had marked his career as an editor by deadly warfare against the principles they were elected specially to represent The whole party, with the exception of Mr. Bingham and the absentees, adhered to him with pertinacious devetion for five days, although it was obvious that he could not be elected, and although it was known that B. B. French, a sound Democrat, could have been elected at any indicated their willingness to vote for him, as did

> several liberal Whigs. to elect a Clerk for five days, Mr. Booth of Connecticut on the twelfth trial, for the first time, joined Mr. Bingham in voting for French. According to all party usages, the Democratic members were at perfect liberty, having repeatedly failed to elect their caucus candidates, to try the strength of other candidates. A few, after this, showed their hands for Mr. French, until Friday, votes; but not one of these was cast by a Democrat from New England, New York, the Middle States, or the South, with the exception of that of Mr. Booth, who, after having again voted for Forney, on the 16th and 17th trials, gave his vote to French on the 18th. With this exception, all the Democrats who voted for French were from the West, and their names were-

> Bingham, of Michigan; Brown, and Harlan, of Indians; Cable, Carter, Whittlesey, and Wood, of Objo : Leffler, of lowa.

Had they been supported by the Democrats from Pennsylvania and New England, the demonstration might have been effective. There was a time when the slaveholders placed their chief reliance on the Western Democracy; that time has gone by: their main reliance now is the Democracy of Pennsylvania and New England.

On the nineteenth trial commenced a series of operations that resulted in the election of the Whig candidate. The call had been gone through; Mr. Forney had received his usual number of votes, when Mr. Venable of North Carolina, a Calhoun Democrat, avowed that he was desirous of seeing the contest terminated, and he would vote for Mr. Campbell. Mr. Campbell of Ohio changed his vote from French to Campbell: then, one after another, rose Messrs. Carter, Whittlesey, Cable, of Ohio, and Fitch of Indiana, and changed their votes from French to Forney. Why they did this, we cannot say; but the impression was that they were frightened back upon the caucus nominations, by the defection of of good to thousands of readers. That such a Messrs. Venable and Hubbard, Orr and Woodward, Southern Democrats, who voted for Camp-England, overflowing with wealth, under a Gov- bell. We should be unwilling to admit that they ernment accustomed to display its liberality by could be so easily whipped in, but now-a-days we

are surprised at nothing. The matter, however, we doubt not was all arranged. The Whig managers must have able to write; he no longer receives any income | before, when they re-nominated Mr. Campbell. with the exception of Harlan, Bingham, and wealthy England, boasting herself the magnifi- had defied the popular sentiment of the North to please them, and, seeing a chance to fill the Clerk-England, boasting herself the bulwark of Protes- ship, as they had filled the Speakership, with a

> ing among the latter, and it was thought that the effect would be to break up the integrity of the Party, and alienate the Democrats of the Free States from the rest of the caucus nominations. But Issachar is a strong ass-his capacity to bear is as extraordinary as the exactions of his taskmaster. The House proceeding to the election of a Sergeant-at-Arms, it was found that the Northern Democrats, with a devotion unparalleled, were Dr. Lane, one of the most ultra pro-slavery men in Kentucky, received on the first trial 88 votes. Two or three Democrats from the Free States, we believe, declined voting: the following voted for independent Democratic candidates, unwilling

nance to an act of bad faith. For Walbridge.-Messrs. Bingham, of Michigan, Disney, Morris, Olds and Wood of Ohio, and Doty of Wisconsin. For Dow .- Messrs. Booth, Cleveland, and Wal-

to sacrifice their self-respect by giving counte-

* Each one representing the principle of Slavery-Exten-

It will be observed that it is the Western men again who take the lead in resistance to the Slavery tactics.

Some surprise was manifested in certain quarters at the conduct of the eight Southern Democrats; but it does not surprise us. We have become accustomed to see slaveholders sacrifice Party upon the altar of Slavery. It is no new thing. Their recent act is but an illustration of a general principle. These eight Democrats have done for Mr. Forney and their party, just what their brethren in the South did for Mr. Cass and the Party. in the last Presidential election.

We have spoken plainly, though we know plain speech will wound not a few for whom we entertain the kindest feelings.

But a crisis has come when we feel constrained to expose fully to the people the conduct of their representatives. If the conduct of the latter please them, let them say so; if not, let them express their disapprobation. One thing is certain, the non-slaveholders of the country will be trodden under foot so long as they suffer their representatives to submit to the despotism of caucuses controlled absolutely by the Slave Power.

AN IMPORTANT RULE EXPLAINED.

The Washington Republic, a few days since had a long editorial, designed to show that "a considerable number of the Democratic members of the House of Representatives from the Cath have been for some time past effectively exerting themselves, in connection with Mr. Giddings and his compeers, to aggravate the excitement," which, it says, "unhappily exists in most parts of the country on the Slavery Question." It refers, in proof of this, to the fact, that Southern Democrats have from time to time been found voting with "Mr. Giddings and his compeers," on mctions designed and calculated "to force a direct vote on Anti-Slavery resolutions."

Southern Democrats will doubtless admit the truth of this charge, and justify themselves to their constituents, by telling them that the Whig party had elected a non-committal President, by a non-committal policy, on the question of Slavery; that, so far as lay in the power of its leaders in Congress, this policy was sought t) be maintained, by evading or postponing all resolutions which looked to practical action; that their own cooperation with the Anti-Slavery members of Congress extended merely to preliminary motions-only so far as was necessary to unmask dishonest politicians; but that, when they had succeeded in forcing these from their hiding. places, and compelling them to vote, they them selves of course would vote as Southern men They could go further with the explanation than this, if they chose. For example: by forcing the Administration party to vote directly on questions connected with Slavery, they might succeed in breaking up its harmony, in sowing dissensions between its two sections, in impairing its strength, in terminating General Taylor's equivocal policy on the Slavery Question.

But what has their conduct, what have their motives to do with "Mr. Giddings and his compeers?" They have their own special ends to subserve; and, if in the pursuit of them they choose to cast votes which Anti-Slavery men can turn to good account in smoking out the tribe of dodgers and non-committalists, and in arousing the attention of the Public to the aggressions of Slavery, we suppose none will mourn but those who are interested in the success of Political Du-

But our attention has been drawn to this article of the Republic, chiefly by certain views it presents of an important rule in the House of Representatives. We beg the reader's attention to the following extract:

" And here we take leave to remark, that the principal means of agitation resorted to by Mr. resolutions on the subject of slavery-ever drawn up in the most injurious and offensive form possible—which they have succeeded, on several oc casions, with the airl above indicated in gagging through the House of Representatives.

that the subject may be well understood, it is necessary to refer to the 26th rule of the House, which is se follows:
" 'All the States and Territories shall be called for resolutions on each alternate Monday during each session of Congress; and, if necessary to secure this object on said days, all resolutions which give rise to debate shall lie over for discussion under the rules of the House already established; and the whole of said days shall be appropriated to resolutions, until all the States and Territories are

called through.' "A member under this rule, when his State is called, rises in his place and offers a resolution and if no o' jection is made, it is acted on at once But if of an exceptionable character, it is com petent for any other member to intimate that he desires to debate it, wherenpon it is passed over or, in other words, goes on to the calendar, to

come up in its order. "If this were all, any member could have prevented action on any one of the numerous inflam-matory resolutions which have emanated from the same mint or workshop of mischief, and which have kept the country in incessant turmoil for several years past. But, unfortunately, a con-struction has been given to this rule which has opened a wide door to Mr. Giddings and those who sympathize with him, for the prosecution of the business of agitation. It has long been held, rule itself,) that the member moving a resolution may, at the same time, call for the previous question; and then, if it is sustained, or, words, if the main question is or lered to be put, the matter is brought at once to an issue, and the members, without the slightest chance for amendment or explanation, are obliged to say yea or nay to the proposition. This is what is familiarly called gagging a resolution through the House, and is an outrageous violation of the right of free

"It is precisely in this manner that Mr. Giddings, and those who act with him, have been en abled, mith Democratic aid, and from the South too. to get, during the last few years, a vote on many propositions exceedingly offensive to the good people of that section, and we do not hesitate to say, made so purposely; or, in other words, the main question has been ordered, (contrary to the wishes of the moderate members from the North.) by the cooperation of Southern Democrats with Northern agitators and Abolitionists.

"But perhaps it will be said that nothing would be gained by refusing the previous question; that if the proposition went over for debate it would take its place on the calendar, and would come up in its order; but any man who has been one month a member of the House of Representa-tives knows that it is not so-for when one of these resolutions gets on to the calendar, it is never heard of again. Not an instance, it is believed, can be found for the last half dozen years, where a resolution thus situated has come up for debate. It is uniformly overlaid by other busido, when Mr. Giddings has offered one of his fanatical propositions, was to join the moderate men of the North, (Whigs and Democrats,) and refuse the previous question; thus the resolution would fall still-born—it would perish in parturition. Has such been their course? Far from it. They have joined hands with Mr. Giddings, and have helped him along in his career of madness and folly. When he has called for the previous ques tion, they have responded 'yea, yea'—have made themselves parties wilfully to his proceedings, Of course, such an act of treachery to their and are just as much responsible as if they had introduced the exceptionable matter themselves. Northern associates aroused a great deal of feel-The object or motive of both the one and the other has been precisely the same-ogitation.

> House. By it the members from the several States are enabled to bring before Congress matters deemed by them of importance. But it is obvious that, were it not for the usage which the Republic denounces as so great an outrage on the Right of free Debate," the rule would be almost worthless. It will not do to allow debate on the resolutions introduced; otherwise, one State, or one subject, might occupy the whole time, to the exclusion of all others. Every resolution which a member announces his intention to debate, therefore goes over. But, were action, as well as debate, precluded, none but the most insignificant resolutions would be sure of reception. Propositions of great importance can scarcely fail to excite opposition in some quarter. Some member would almost always be found to signify his purpose to debate them, so as to postpone them forever. To guard against this evil, to secure to the States their rights, to secure the rights of | which is hereafter to be filled.

The Republic states correctly the rule of the

1812, which served to keep her troops within the ELECTION OF CLERK - COALITION OF WHICE do, of Connecticut; Carter of Obio; Peck of Ver- the majority against the captious, the reckless, nority, to secure to the House opportunity for expressing its opinious without hindrance on great questions, and for enforcing by its legitimate authority prompt action upon them, it is clearly necessary that each member should have the right to demand the previous question on his resolution, and that a majority of the House should have e right to second his decision. Without it, no resolution in favor of cheap postage, for example, or instructing the Committee on the Post Office to report a cheap postage bill, could ever be passed. Without it, no resolution touching Slavery could be entertained. Mr. Root's resolution at the last session, which obliged the Committee on the Territories to report the Wilmot Proviso, was forced through under the operation of the Previous Question. Mr Gott's resolution against the slave trade would not have been listened to for a moment, but for that usage. Especially is it necessary, when a minority Speaker, elected on the strength of some sectional interest, has so con stituted the Committees of the House as to give that interest undue predominance over all others. This rule and the usage which "has become part of it," furnish then a most important mode by which the majority can assert its rights and interests.

We wish the reader to observe particularly the statement that, when a resolution goes over, and gets on the calendar, it is never heard of again;" so on the ground that they were deficient in good hat all the opponents of a resolution have to do is, to vote to refuse the Previous Question, and tion in which his State was particularly interested the resolution "would fall still-born-perish in parturition." This is true-and in the light of this statement let the People read the conduct of Mr. Vinton and some other leading Whigs in voting against the Previous Question on Gott's resolution against the Slave Trade-and by the ame light, let them hereafter read the conduct of every man from the free States who shall vote against the Previous Question on any such resolution-that vote will be a vote to kill the resolu-

The Republic proceeds in the rest of its article o illustrate its positions and statements, by a review of the proceedings on Gott's resolution After naming the Democrats from the slave States who voted for the Previous Question on the reso lution, it continues-

"The Democrats from the slave States who re fused to sacrifice their integrity or to join the Giddings phalanx against the peace of the Union were, from Virginia, Messra. Bocock and Mc-Dowell; from North Carolina, Mr. Daniel; from South Carolina, None! from Mississippi, Mr. Featherston; from Texas, Mr. Pilsbury; from Kentucky, Messrs. French and Peyton; from Tennessee, Messrs. Hill and Thomas; and from Missouri, Messrs. Green and Hall—in all eleven members, who refused to sustain the Previous Question. The Whig members from the free necticut, Messrs, Rockwell and Smith; from New Jersey, Mr. Van Dyke; from Pennsylvania, Mess. Butler, Freedley, Hampton, Ingersoll, and Irvin from Ohio, Mr. Vinton; from Indiana, Messrs Dunn, Embree, and Thompson; and from Illi-nois, Mr. Lincoln—in all thirteen members, who refused to help on the gag, and went against the

That is, sought to kill the resolution " in partu

Well-this is candid. It proceeds-

"It is a curious fact, that if the twenty-five outhern Democrats had been as much disposed to settle this question on a reasonable basis as they were to help on the Giddings faction in their projects of disturbance, and had acted with the venerable Governor McDowell, (who never made an irritating remark or gave a factious vote in his life,) the result on the previous question would have been 88 in the affirmative to 88 in the nega tive, and this would have thrown the disposi of the subject into the hands of Mr. Speaker Winthrop; and, what he would have done any one can decide who is familiar with the modera-tion and sense of justice which have ever charac-The Republic means that Mr. Winthrop would

we given his casting vote against the Previou Question, thereby throwing the resolut so that, being placed on the calendar, it would never be heard of again! This is the Republic's statement. If any of the friends of Mr. Win throp choose to contradict, we shall be pleased to publish the contradiction.

The Republic's account of proceedings on this occasion is not always consisient with itself,

" And then came up," it says, "what is called the Previous Question—Shall the main question be now put? In this stage of the proceedings, the Hon. Mr. Vinton, of Ohio, ever distinguished for his moderation, arose and inquired of the Chair whether the resolution was open to amendment, and received for answer that it would be if the Previous Question was not sustained. He then expressed a hope to the House that it would no as he desired to amend the resolution by striking out the worse than useless preamble." And how was he to accomplish this, when, ac-

ording to the statement given by the R-public of the rule, had the Previous Question been refused. the resolution, as giving rise to debate, would have gone over? Indeed, five lines after this attempt to vindicate the conduct of Mr. Vinton, on the ground that he desired only to amend the resolution, it says-

"If the main question had been refused, we have seen that the effect would have been precisely the same as if the resolution had been laid

We shall copy from the article in the Republic one more extract, to show, beyond all doubt, on whom rests the responsibility of the defeat of the resolution against the Slave Trade. The motion to reconsider the resolution, it says, came up for final action on the 10th of January, "when, on the call of the yeas and nays, the motion was carried by a vote of 119#in the affirmative to 81 in the negative; and thus Mr. Gott's solution was rescinded, and no further action was had thereon. On this occasion the following gen tlemen from free States, Whigs and Democrats, who sustained Mr. Gott's resolution on the 21s of December, voted for its reconsideration, to wit: Butler, Canby, Grinnell, Irvin, Lord, Mann of Pennsylvania, Nicoll, Pollock, Richey, Stuart. Tallmadge, Thompson of Pennsylvania, Van Dyke, and Vinton-in all, fourteen. The following gentlemen, also from the free States and of tions. both parties, who were not present on the passage of Mr. Gott's resolution, or if present, did not game with them, which they have undertaken to answer to their names, voted the same way, to wit: Birdsall, Brady, Brodhead, Clapp, Levin, Murphy, Nes, Richardson, Smith of Indiana, Smith of Connecticut, and Wick of Indiana-in

resolution, we charged, last winter, with defeating it. The Republic fully confirms our allegations. We are glad of this, as it will show, even to Whig partisans, that we spoke the truth in our exposures of conduct which, without doubt, worked the overthrow of the Whig party in Connecticut, and left them with but one Congressman from Indiana.

THE WHIG PARTY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE-The Whigs of New Hampshire in State Convention at Concord, on the 2d, nominated Levi Chamberlain of Keene as their candidate for Governor, and passed the following resolutions concerning Free Soil and the Union:

" Resalved. That the Ordinance of '87, recently called the Wilmot Proviso, meets our unqualified approbation—that an extension of Slavery over territory now free would be repugnant to the spirit of our Constitution, derogatory to the charter of our country, and inimical to the princi-

ples of common humanity.
"Resolved, That the Union of these States, as complished by the wise and patriotic efforts of our fathers, and thus far preserved by a common love of liberty, of order, and of law, is cherished by the Whigs of New Hampshire with undimined by them against the assaults of fanaticism and sullification to the last extremity. That to the American people and to the cause of Freedom throughout the world, the value of the Union is nd calculation, and its preservation the lead ing Star of our political hopes."

G. R. HAZEWELL has become proprietor of the New York Weekly Globe, the editorial chair of VERMONT RESOLUTIONS AND THE SENATE.

We had not room last week to direct special attention to the proceedings of the Senate in relation to the resolutions of the Legislature of Ver-

mont on the Slavery Question. The usage of the Senate is to receive, read, and print resolutions from a State Legislature, no matter upon what subject. This usage is founded in a proper respect for State Sovereignty. There is no instance in which the courtesy of printing has been refused to any such resolutions, except to those of the State of Vermont on Slavery, presented in the Senate, January 9th, 1839, which were ordered to lie upon the table, without being printed. The most inflammatory resolutions of Southern Legislatures on the same subject, threatening even a dissolution of the Union, have been since presented, and printed, without objection being raised in any quarter.

When the recent resolutions of the Vermont

Legislature were presented on the 8th, Mr. Mangum moved at first that the question of their reception be laid upon the table, but, on being reminded by Mr. King of Alabama of the uniform usage of the Senate, he withdrew his motion, with the remark that he thought they ought to be received and printed. This did not prevent Mr. Yulce of Florida, whose delicate sensibilities seem to be a great affliction to him, from making a speech against the printing of the resolutions breeding-unmannerly assaults upon an institu-The same Senator signalized himself last winter by similar opposition to the printing of the resolves of the New York Legislature. On the contrary, Mesera Butler and Calhoun were in favor of the printing: they were anxious that the Peo ple of the South should see the language in which their institutions were denounced by Northern men. Mr. Calhoun, apparently laboring under deep excitement, said-

"I have labored long and carnestly to arrest the progress of Abolitionism from its commencement; I saw where it would end if not arrested; and I now confess that I despair of ever seeing it arrested in Congress. It will go to its head, for the gentlemen have yielded to the current of Northern feeling, which they admit here they are now unable to resist. What the South will do, it is not for me to say ; but, whenever the time comes, I have ne doubt they will meet it as it ought to

In his remark about the "current of Northern feeling," he alluded to the observation of Mr. Phelps, who, in attempting to define his position. gave ground for the imputation that the resolutions were not to his taste, and that, in representing his State on this occasion, he was doing "eyeservice," not service from the heart. Will the People of Vermont listen to their Senator for a moment: we copy from the official report in the National Intelligencer:

"My object in rising is to say that I have never approached this subject but with abhorrence. Would to God the discussion on this subject might be terminated forever! But it cannot be; the agitation and excitement in relation to it in every portion of our country forbids us to be silent.

"But my object in rising was—to use a cant

phrase—to define my own position, and, in defin-ing that, I believe I define the position of a vast majority of the people of this Union. We claim no authority, no right to interfere with the domestic arrangements of other States. This should be distinctly understood. Virginia and South Carolina may maintain their own institutions. We claim no right to interfere. So fir, I trust this declaration will be satisfactory. But the line of distinction which we make is a very clear one. Where Congress possesses the power of local le-gislation, they must exercise their power in obedience to the dictates of their own judgments; and if, with respect to the Territories of the Uni-ted States, they deem it wise to prohibit the intro-duction of slavery there, they have power to do so. If the sense of Congress is in favor of the exercise of that power, it will be mnintained. What is the objection to this sentiment? . We claim no right to interfere with the institution of slavery We claim the right to regulate the institutions of our Territories. Can that right be denied? And if we think it expedient to introduce the Ordinance of 1787, or the Wilmot Proviso, who can question our power to do it? And if we, in our adgment, deem it expedient to apply this Proviso to our Territories, on what ground can any portion of the Confederacy raise the standard of revolution ?"

In another part of the discussion, he said : "As I before remarked, for myself I have stu-diously avoided all exciting and irritating discusdiously avoided all exciting and irritating discus-sions of this subject, and have ever deprecated their occurrence. I regret much that it is not viewed on all sides, North and South, coolly and dispassionately, for it is in this way, and in this way only, that the subject can be wisely disposed of. The irritating, provoking, and offensive language in which it is often discussed, does mischief, and mischief only. I am disposed to meet it, not as a matter of mutual crimination and recrimination, but as a great question of policy, which we in the discharge of our public duties here are called upor to meet and to determine."

When our Vermont readers are reminded that it was proposed to refuse the resolutions of their Legislature the customary courtesy of printing, a courtesy never denied to any other State-that the Southern members were indulging in language of severe denunciation of the Northern People, and threatening disunion if the sentiments contained in the resolutions should prevail-we think they will agree with us, that a little more spirit, a little less deprecatory tone, and not so strong an expression of abhorrence of the discussion of the Slavery Question, would have been becoming in the Vermont Senator.

Mr. Hale very aptly reminded Mr. Yulee that he had a precedent for his course, in the act of the Senate, in the year 1839, refusing to print the resolutions of this very state of Vermont. To be. sure, it was the only exception to the rule of pricting, but it went the whole length. He proin a way peculiarly his own. He said :

"The true state of the case in the Northern States is this there has been a small band of fanatics there who have made so much noise that many people have imagined them to be greatly more numerous than they are; and the Whig and Democratic parties, thinking them to be of some consequence, have started in a game of resolutions. The Whig party started, and the Democratic Parties are well as a new contents. catch the 'fanatics,' for 'fanatics' there have votes as well as other persons; and the reso are intended for home use altogether. That is the reason they have not been instructed to pre-sent them here. As the question comes up, and Smith of Connecticut, and Wick of Indiana—in all, eleven; making, of both classes, twenty-five votes."

Those gentlemen and those who voted against the Previous Question on the introduction of the make a winding short content of the votes and the passed by both parties to make a winding short content of the votes. make a winding-sheet for every slave and slave-holder in the Union; but, after all, if the matter is sifted to the bottom, there will be found very little resolution in any of their reso therefore, any sort of excitement has been creat-el on the part of our slaveholding friends, if they think these resolutions mean anything, I can assure them that they are the most harmless things

Mr. Phelps confirmed this representation : "I am glad to hear the sentiments that have been expressed upon this subject. The honorable Senator from New Hampshire is NOT FAR FROM CORRECT; but the Senator did us the henor to present himself in our State as an advocate of the principles of Free-Soilism, and it is not to be won-dered at that, after his mission, this resolution should have been presented.

that such resolutions are really intended for home consumption, a kind of bait to catch anti-slavery

We are glad that Mr. Hale subsequently took occasion to prevent a misconstruction of his remarks as follows:

marks, as follows:

"I am glad that the honorable Senator from Vermont admits that I am right. I could wish that som-body who had as much right to speak for the other great party would be as candid, and admit whether or not I have represented the case as it exists in their associations; but if I was understood to say that there is not a great and a growing sentliment of disentiafaction at the overshadowing influence which the institution of Southern slavery has had and does have upon the legislation of this country, I was understood to say a thing which I do not believe; because, air, there is in the Northern States, so far as know, a great feeling upon this subject, but it is a